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GUGGENHEIM FOR GOVERNOR

ANTISEMITISM, RACE, AND THE POLITICS OF GILDED AGE COLORADO

MICHAEL LEE

In the summer of 1893 financial panic struck Colorado. The price of silver, in a protracted downward spiral since the conclusion of the Civil War, finally crashed. The British government announced that its Indian mints were ceasing the coinage of silver rupees. The news of that decision caused a torrent of selling on the international market. In a matter of hours, the price of silver plummeted from eighty cents to sixty-four cents an ounce. The collapse in value of Colorado's most important commodity precipitated runs on local banks. Twelve

banks alone collapsed in Denver during the month of July. By the end of August, over 40,000 Coloradans were thrown out of work. With the question of silver all encompassing, the rest of the 1890s in the Centennial State was consumed by economic depression and political rancor. Indeed, even by 1898, the tail end of economic depression in the state, silver was, in the words of the *Rocky Mountain News*, "The Burning Issue."¹

With economic and political turmoil come angry responses, as people search for scapegoats to explain their new and unexpected poverty. And in Gilded Age Colorado, one of those angry responses was the rise of antisemitism in politics.² In this article I show that ideological antisemitism was overt at a key moment of economic and political dislocation and a powerful tool of exclusion and control among some prominent Populists, Democrats, and other allies of the silver cause in Colorado at that time. Specifically, antisemitism was an important theme in the political discourse of those groups during the 1898 gubernatorial campaign of Jewish industrialist Simon Guggenheim.

John Livingston suggested in his seminal anthology, *Jews of the American West* (1994),

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that the topic of antisemitism in the West warranted "further attention" due to scholars only scratching at its surface. Indeed, the tentative consensus of that work was that antisemitism was less overt and infrequent in the West due to Jews being early arrivals and founders of western urban centers, the lack of large numbers of eastern European Jews, and the West itself being more cosmopolitan than other regions of the country. Since the publication of *Jews of the American West*, historians have continued to generalize about the nature of antisemitism in the region. Most recently, Ellen Eisenberg, Ava F. Kahn, and William Toll have pointed out that "While southern, eastern, and midwestern Jews faced heightened anti-Semitism in the late nineteenth century, Jews of the West continued to celebrate their high level of inclusion and civic prominence." Jeanne E. Abrams, the foremost expert on Mountain States Jews, has similarly concluded that "When anti-Semitism increased in America in the decades after the Civil War . . . western cities were not entirely immune. However, because of the prominent pioneer status of many Jews in early communities in the West, its effects were minimal." Correspondingly, Hal Rothman has observed that throughout the Great Plains "being Jewish engendered more admiration than envy."³

Degrees of antisemitism likely did vary by region, and it seems likely that increased antisemitism would accompany regions with higher populations of Jews. The goal of this work is to add more detail and specificity to a topic that other historians have treated more generally and suggest room for a larger role for antisemitism in the West and Colorado in particular. Furthermore, this work argues that antisemitism was more prevalent than previous historians have understood, and that because it is tied to local events it often appears in different ways and at different times. In short, this is a study about the nature of this antisemitism and is counter to previous presentations.

The 1898 Guggenheim campaign for governor has received relatively little scholarly attention. This is due primarily to historians focusing on the Guggenheim family as an

industrial and philanthropic dynasty—a rags-to-riches story in which antisemitism is addressed on the periphery. Politics does not feature centrally in these biographies. Indeed, Guggenheim's failure to ultimately capture the governorship in 1898 has traditionally been ascribed to his youth, inexperience, and ambition, and to greed and nepotism on the part of important politicians in the state, not to overt and racialized antisemitic attitudes held by those same politicians and influential segments of the Colorado press. Moreover, the racial aspects of the antisemitism at play in the 1898 campaign have also gone largely unexcavated by historians.⁴

To be sure, Colorado was not divorced from the broader national discussion about race that embroiled the country as millions of largely poor immigrants from Europe began to move to the United States during the second half of the nineteenth century. As Matthew Frye Jacobson shows, this was a key moment in the history of race in the United States when the idea of a singular undisputed "white people" became fractured into various white races—"Celt, Slav, Hebrew, Iberic, Mediterranean, and so on—white others of a supreme Anglo-Saxondom." Moreover, implicit in this hierarchy of humanity, Jacobson continues, was the republican notion of "fitness for self-government," "a racial attribute whose outer property was whiteness." In other words, the influx of these "different" peoples, including but not limited to Jews, posed an immediate threat to the bulwark of the republic and by implication whiteness itself. In this conceptual framework, whiteness encompassed much more than just pigmentation but also manners, politics, language, religion, and even physiognomy. Put another way, race suffused practically every facet of culture in the second half of the nineteenth century in the United States. And as I show, some politicians and newspapers in Colorado utilized a racialized version of antisemitism to attack and condemn Simon Guggenheim, arguing that his Jewishness, and therefore his nonwhiteness, made him fundamentally unfit to serve as governor of Colorado.⁵

Finally, Jews were not the only immigrant group to have experienced prejudice and hostility during this period. John Higham has shown that from the 1820s to the 1920s native-born white Americans demonstrated some degree of hostility toward most foreigners and their institutions. For example, as their numbers gradually increased in the Plains and the West, Italians and eastern European immigrants suffered from overt discrimination in places such as the coal counties of Oklahoma, encountering impediments to both social and economic advancement. In Colorado's mining towns as well, the influx of these immigrant groups saw the rise of racial stereotypes such as the "swarthy immigrant." Thus, the anti-Guggenheim campaign is emblematic of the increasingly important role that race played in the dynamics of the West and Plains during the Gilded Age.⁶

MINING, SMELTING, AND THE GUGGENHEIM FAMILY IN COLORADO

The promise of easy gold initially lured tens of thousands of Euro-Americans across the Plains to the Rocky Mountains in the late 1850s, but it was the discovery of large deposits of silver in the high country in the late 1870s that laid the foundation of Colorado's economy, giving birth to overnight millionaires and instant cities in the clouds. One such city was Leadville. Located 10,000 feet above sea level, it exploded onto the national scene between 1877 and 1879. Stories of Horace Tabor and his Matchless mine enthralled the imaginations of easterners. One such easterner was Meyer Guggenheim. Born in the Jewish ghetto of Lengnau, Switzerland, in 1828, Meyer settled with his family in Philadelphia around 1848. Although a tailor by trade, he engaged in a variety of businesses, eventually making a small fortune by the time he was in his late forties. As Meyer's enterprises grew, however, he firmly believed that his seven sons should become involved. Not long after, M. Guggenheim's Sons was incorporated. The venture consisted chiefly of the production and

distribution of lace fabrics. M. Guggenheim's Sons rapidly expanded during the first half of the 1880s, moving its headquarters from Philadelphia to New York City.⁷

In 1879 Charles H. Graham, a friend of the Guggenheim family, traveled west to investigate Leadville. Along with three other Philadelphians, Graham speculated in mining properties in and around the famous boomtown. Speculation led to negotiation, and the four men eventually purchased two claims owned by a prospector named A. Y. Corman. For 4,000 dollars, the four Philadelphians became owners of the A. Y. and Minnie mines. But this was the easy part. The hard part was developing the two properties into sustained profitability. Cash strapped, Graham went to Meyer for financial assistance. Meyer purchased a quarter share in their venture. During the first few years, the A. Y. and Minnie produced a respectable amount of silver ore, transforming the Guggenheim family into millionaires.⁸

The patriarch of the family astutely observed that a great deal of profit was going into the pockets of local smelters. Frustrated, but entirely ignorant of the process of ore reduction, Meyer purchased a controlling interest in the Holden Smelting Company and by 1888 opened the Philadelphia Smelter in Pueblo, a town in the southern part of the state.⁹ Born in Philadelphia in 1867, Simon Guggenheim eventually became involved in the smelting operation in Pueblo as its secretary and treasurer. His duties included roaming the state and acquiring ores for processing in the Philadelphia's eight massive blast furnaces. Simon became so adept at the business that he became the western viceroy of M. Guggenheim's Sons.¹⁰

THE POLITICS OF SILVER

The 1880s were a prosperous time for mining and smelting in Colorado. Silver had been good to the Centennial State. It created towns and cities from nothing, employed tens of thousands of individuals, and made the Guggenheims and a few others fabulously



FIG. 1. *Simon Guggenheim, c. 1910.* © CORBIS.

wealthy in a short period. But beneath the sparkle was a structural problem with the price of silver. The price of the white metal was pegged artificially by the federal government at a ratio of sixteen ounces to one ounce of gold. This arrangement lasted until the U.S. Treasury demonetized silver in 1873 by making gold dollars the standard of currency rather than silver dollars. The mining, smelting, and railroad concerns in the West had reservations about this monetary policy, as did those invested in expanding the money supply for cash-strapped agrarians. Two years after the retirement of silver, the federal government decided to retire paper currency as well, further deflating the economy. As a result, the Greenback Party was organized in an effort to restore paper money and expand the money supply. Although Greenbackism was never a political force in Colorado, it found a place in a later political movement that had an expanded money supply on its agenda.¹¹

Meanwhile, silver states such as Colorado pushed for federal intervention in the slumping

price of silver. The Bland Allison Act of 1878 brought some relief to silverites through an agreement to coin between 2 and 4 million dollars' worth of silver a month. Federal authorities, however, were committed to a policy of deflation, and thereby coined the minimum amount of silver mandated by the act. As frustration mounted, Coloradans and their representatives in Congress began to demand the free and unlimited coinage of silver. Senators Henry M. Teller and Edward O. Wolcott tirelessly advocated in the Senate for the remonetization of silver and the restoration of the old sixteen-to-one ratio. By 1890 another half measure was negotiated with the passage of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, which, like the Bland Allison Act, mandated increased purchases of silver by the federal government. At first, silver prices rebounded, but then they resumed their steady decline.¹²

In Colorado, dissatisfaction over how the two major parties had handled the silver issue led to the rise of Populism and the People's Party in the region. Indeed, it was the Populist plank for the free and unlimited coinage of silver and the expansion of the money supply that explained the success of the movement in the Rocky Mountains. By 1892 Populist forces in the Centennial State organized a ticket at the top of which was Davis H. Waite. Involved in both the Republican and the Democratic parties in his early years, Waite moved west in 1879 and converted to Populism. A lawyer in the silver town of Aspen and an ardent advocate for labor, he loathed the two major parties, who he believed had betrayed the cause of silver. In short, Waite was adamantly opposed to political cooptation through fusion, which he believed would dilute the People's Party's principles. He won in a landslide in 1892 and ushered in Populism in Colorado, a short time before the panic of 1893.¹³

Waite's tenure as governor of Colorado was tumultuous. During his two-year term, which all governors in the state served at that time, the economy collapsed. In addition to India ceasing to mint silver rupees in 1893, the federal government repealed the Sherman Silver

Purchase Act of 1890, compounding an already disastrous economic situation. Of course, economic catastrophe was not confined to the Centennial State in 1893, but it was magnified several times due to its dependence on silver. Recalcitrance on the part of the federal government forced Waite to consider unorthodox measures to soothe the economic suffering. One such measure consisted of Colorado buying silver extracted in the state and shipping it to Mexico where it could be minted. In turn, these coins would be shipped back to Colorado and used to expand the money supply in the local economy. This idea met defeat at the statehouse.¹⁴

On top of economic ruin came labor conflict. The gold-mining district of Cripple Creek, the one bright spot in Colorado's dismal economy, became embroiled in a strike. Miners demanded increased wages, an eight-hour day, and recognition of their new union, the Western Federation of Miners. Violence ensued with the dynamiting of mines and the cracking of skulls. The Cripple Creek strike ended in June 1894, but the damage was done. Waite never recovered politically, and a Republican, Alvis W. McIntire, took the governorship for the next two years.¹⁵

Meanwhile, the national Republican Party was fragmenting over the silver issue. At the national convention in Chicago in 1896, William McKinley won the nomination. Enraged at the nomination of someone who was equivocal on silver, Teller stormed out of the convention, formed the Silver Republican Party, and quickly fused with Democrats and Populists. Wolcott, although just as committed to the silver issue as Teller, remained within the fold of the Grand Old Party. Democrats, on the other hand, adopted the silver issue into their party platform and made William Jennings Bryan their nominee. The battle of the standards was on. In Colorado, Bryan and silver carried the day with a decisive Democratic-Fusion victory. But nationally, McKinley and gold swept Democrats and their allies off the political battlefield. Nationally, too, silver became a moribund issue. But in Colorado it lived on into the fol-

lowing election cycle, such that 1898 was to be a replay of 1896.¹⁶

In 1896 Simon Guggenheim played a relatively minor role in statewide politics. His friends, Richard Broad, county commissioner of Jefferson County, and Otto Mears, the toll-road king, thought he would make an excellent candidate for lieutenant governor of the Silver Republican Party. During this economically rancorous time, Guggenheim was particularly popular among local labor due to his refusal to shut down the Philadelphia Smelter. However, Guggenheim's candidacy for a largely ceremonial position was short-lived due to his being only twenty-nine years old, one year shy of the statutory age of thirty for the office. Unsurprisingly, the young smelter magnate threw his support behind Bryan and silver. Yet Guggenheim's support for Bryan should not be interpreted as anything beyond support for the price of the white metal.¹⁷

Guggenheim's desire to run for political office, on the other hand, mainly stemmed from a yearning for status and respect, not from any particular ideological bent. There was a desire to distance the family further from its humble origins in the Lengnau ghetto—to show that the Guggenheims had finally arrived on the American stage. And there was the very personal dimension of getting out of the shadow of his older brothers and earning familial respect. Fueled by these twin desires, Guggenheim tried once more, two years later, for high political office in Colorado.¹⁸

On a fall day in 1898, Richard Broad, now chairman of the state Silver Republican Committee, received word from national party headquarters that he was fired. Accused of being a traitor to the cause of silver due to his opposition to fusion with Democrats and Populists, he was unceremoniously replaced by J. H. Blood, who was more to the political liking of the cantankerous Senator Teller. At that moment, political turmoil reached new heights in Colorado, with Broad immediately forming his own faction of the Silver Republican Party. Both Teller and Broad professed that they were the rightful leaders of the party in the state.

Political intractability on both sides eventually led to violence.¹⁹

With the fracturing of the Silver Republican Party in Colorado, Broad, and a slightly older but just as politically ambitious Guggenheim, quickly moved to dominate the state party convention held at the Colorado Springs Opera House. But such an action would be difficult to achieve, for Teller and his followers had fortified the building and refused Broad and Guggenheim admittance. In the early morning of September 7, armed with revolvers and Winchester rifles, Broad, Guggenheim, and several other men made their move on the heavily armed Tellerites. The situation soon became deadly. Charles Harris, an associate of Broad, was killed. All the major papers howled about the killing, and some conjectured that Wolcott was behind the assault in Colorado Springs. Such conspiratorial thinking engrossed the *Rocky Mountain News*, which used the incident to link Guggenheim and Broad to Wolcott and the GOP.²⁰ It is unclear exactly why Harris was killed or who shot him, but the killing ushered in a violent beginning to an already chaotic campaign season.

Despite the bloodshed, Broad wasted little time and organized a competing convention at Colorado Springs, nominating a slate of candidates for the upcoming November election. At the top of the ticket was Simon Guggenheim for the office of governor. The pro-silver smelter man, whose family had played an important part in developing the region, was now getting an opportunity to run for the highest executive office in the state. Moreover, he was making history as the first Jew in the state to run for that office. Before Guggenheim, Jews ran for and held relatively minor political positions, especially during the territorial period. For example, Benjamin Wisebart served several times on the Central City Council, and Edward Pisko as a member of the lower branch of the territorial legislature. Demographically insignificant, the entire Jewish population in Colorado in 1897 was 1,500, or .26 percent of the total population of the state. On the other hand, most of these Jews were clustered in

Denver. Despite the relatively small number of Jews in the region, however, this was a nearly threefold increase in population since 1877. With a rising Jewish population and rancorous political and economic environment, anti-semitism was simmering beneath the surface. Months before Guggenheim was nominated for governor by the Broad Silver Republicans, there was a complaint in Durango—a town in the southwestern part of the state—about his possible candidacy. The complaint did not question his credentials to fill the position or his devotion to the cause of silver but instead expressed unease over “the way he spells his name.” Although seemingly innocuous, it marked the beginning of a rhetorical effort to make Guggenheim’s Jewishness an important issue of the gubernatorial election.²¹

JEWES AND THE SILVER QUESTION

Economic collapse and political bitterness centering on the silver question created an unstable sociopolitical situation in much of Colorado, in particular in Denver and its mining hinterland. More importantly, however, mistrust of Jews was beginning to emerge in the political discourse of some prominent non-Jewish politicians. In 1895, for example, Senator Wolcott, a staunch supporter of silver, made a speech in the well of the U.S. Senate denouncing the Cleveland administration’s conduct of the country’s finances. “We are marching toward it,” he pronounced, “but if any force on earth could destroy the possibility of international bimetallism [the resumption of the old sixteen-to-one standard of silver to gold] it has been the conduct of the President of the United States in his foreign dicker and trade with the house of Rothschild.” The junior senator from Colorado went on to declare that such an action “brings its recompense, for if there is anything that will arouse the American people to the belief that we alone can undertake the management of our own finances without the help of foreign bankers it will be that same disgraceful and dishonorable contract, the terms of which are degrading to American manhood.”

The house of Rothschild was a London-based international banking firm with a Jewish pedigree. However, it had the distinct misfortune of being associated with one of the most unpopular bailouts in American history—that of the U.S. Gold Reserves. As Wolcott's words demonstrate, some prominent non-Jewish politicians in the state who championed silver interpreted that event as undeniable proof of the danger of Jewish money power to American manhood and finance. Unsurprisingly, Wolcott fixated on the dangerousness of the Rothschilds and completely ignored the fact that a large and important non-Jewish American banking firm was also involved in the deal to save the U.S. Gold Reserves—J. P. Morgan and Company. Therefore, even before Guggenheim contemplated running for governor in 1898, there was a mounting amorphous anxiety over Jews and their alleged role in the silver question. It just so happened that in Colorado the anxiety over Jews and money became harnessed and focused against a Jewish candidate for governor.²²

DRAWING HATE: THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS

In part, the harnessing of that antisemitic anxiety came in the form of political cartoons. After the Civil War, political cartoons increased in popularity and influence as large magazines such as *Harper's Weekly* employed cartoon-drawing staff artists. Aware of *Harper's* success with these images, large daily newspapers around the country began to employ cartoon-drawing staff artists as well.²³ Colorado newspapers were no exception to this trend. One of the first cartoons of the Guggenheim campaign, for example, "Another Gold Brick Bunco Game," was featured on the front page of the largest and oldest newspaper in Colorado, the *Rocky Mountain News*. Tom Patterson, an unapologetic xenophobe who, ironically, was from Carlow, Ireland, operated the *News*. Unflinchingly devoted to the Democratic Party, labor, silver, and political fusion with Populists, he also held dear the racialism that suffused the time.²⁴

The cartoon depicts a swarthy Guggenheim in black clothing and hat with a suitcase full of money lusting after a false gold brick with the stamp of "Nomination for Governor" on it. We see at play in this cartoon three discrete themes that will reoccur in other cartoons of Guggenheim by the *News*. The first is the Jew's unusual preoccupation with money, a Shylock trope that existed long before William Shakespeare made it famous in his *Merchant of Venice*. For centuries, antisemites the world over had imagined Jews as commercially avaricious, dishonest, and predatory. In other words, "Jews, money, and evil became firmly linked in the public mind."²⁵ And during the Gilded Age, such thinking was exacerbated and particularly prevalent among some, but certainly not all, Populists and other ideological allies of silver, who railed incessantly about the threat of Jewish money power to farmers, miners, and small businessmen.²⁶ Put another way, during this period anxiety over the role of money in politics, the silver issue, and Jewishness were inseparable. And they were especially inseparable in the context of a Jewish candidate for governor. It is also important to point out that no other racial group was so stereotypically associated with money as Jews were in the second half of the nineteenth century. Italians were given to violent passion, Irish were brutish and animalistic, and Jews were parasitic nonproducers.²⁷

The second theme is that of the dupable parvenu. A "bunco" is a swindle perpetrated by a con man. In this case, Wolcott, the symbol of the goldbug GOP, is the swindler, and Guggenheim is the dupe. But it must be understood that the dupe in this context is also extremely dangerous because of the liberal use of his money to get what he wants. At the same time, this theme also encompasses the concept of the parvenu, someone who has risen too quickly economically and socially and does not comprehend their proper place in society. As German Jews had climbed quite quickly up the socioeconomic ladder, variations of the parvenu Jew stereotype were in wide circulation at the time.²⁸

The third theme is the racialization of Guggenheim's body. His swarthy skin acts as a visual marker of his Jewishness. As Sander Gilman observes, "The general consensus of the ethnological literature of the late nineteenth century was that the Jews were 'black' or, at least 'swarthy.'" In the same cartoon, Wolcott's complexion remains remarkably fair. This was done perhaps to emphasize the darkness of Guggenheim's complexion, to reinforce the point that he was literally not quite white. And in late-nineteenth-century racist ideology, one's outer whiteness denoted the inner quality of fitness for self-government—an ability to be a good citizen—to govern and be governed. Accordingly, some Coloradans adhered to this racist rationale quite strongly. "In speaking of Mr. Guggenheim," the *Greeley Sun* observed, "some people contemptuously say they wish to vote for a white man." As this statement and the *News's* cartoon suggest, at least some Coloradans had reservations about Guggenheim's racial fitness for self-government. And as we will see, the *News* would use this reservation, the theme of the dupable parvenu, and variations of the more ancient Shylock trope to great effect during the course of the campaign.²⁹

The *News* was not always consistent with regard to its racialization of Guggenheim. In fact, at least with the cartoons examined in this article, the nose was the central feature of difference, rather than skin color. But whether it was swarthy skin or a stereotypically hooked nose, both were physical markers of the racial unfit and difference of the Jew. It must also be kept in mind that the Shylock trope and the dupable parvenu sometimes overlapped. Moreover, they varied in intensity in article form and in cartoon. With this having been said, let us briefly focus on the Shylock trope in word before turning back to our analysis of the dupable parvenu and the racialization of Guggenheim's body in cartoon.

Patterson's *News* portrayed Guggenheim as a Shylock in apocryphal stories invoking the spirit of an avaricious, dishonest, and predatory Jewish businessman. For example, Patterson's



FIG. 2. Rocky Mountain News, September 4, 1898.

paper concocted a story about Guggenheim and his cold, methodical purchase of a Wolcott nomination for governor. In this story, the *News's* Shylock-like Guggenheim bullies Wolcott and stands firm "on the proposition that a bargain was a bargain" and that he "would have what he paid for"—the nomination for governor. There is even an air of extortion to the tale, with the imaginary Guggenheim threatening to publish a list of everyone he had bribed if he was not given the nomination. In this case, Guggenheim the Jew was dangerous, aggressive, and his wealth gave him undue influence over others. It is also important to note that no other candidate during this campaign was so firmly and consistently tied to the corruptive nature of money as was Guggenheim.³⁰

In reality, however, Wolcott never endorsed Guggenheim for governor. In addition to Wolcott's fears of Jews and international finance, he actively practiced discrimination against Jews at his influential and elite Denver Club.³¹ But then again, all elite social clubs in Denver banned Jews from their membership, demonstrating the limits to which the freedom of the West extended to Jews.³² Moreover, as the *Denver Post* reported, Wolcott "reviled



FIG. 4. Rocky Mountain News, September 28, 1898.

historian Donald Dewey's point that cartoonists during this period "seemed to labor most over the Jews, at least over those in the first immigrant waves" from central Europe who were seen as being obsessed with "money—making it, saving it, committing arson and fraud to get more." At the same time, such attention to detail by cartoonists indicates the abundant cultural literacy of their audience. In other words, consumers of newspapers such as the *News* understood the deeper meaning of a hooked nose or a reference to a character in a popular novel.³⁷

HATE IN THE HINTERLAND: GOLDEN AND OURAY

As we have seen, Patterson and his paper were primarily invested in portraying Guggenheim as a Shylock, a dupable parvenu, and racializing his body through exaggerations of the skin and nose. George West, however, editor and publisher of Golden's *Colorado Transcript*, touched on the theme of Jewish sexual deviance. Born on a farm near Claremont, New Hampshire, in 1820, West came to Colorado during the gold rush of the late 1850s. Finding no gold, he entered the newspaper business and eventually became a general in the Colorado state militia. Zealously pro-Democrat, he was a strong supporter of Teller's fusion ticket in 1898 and wrongly viewed Broad and Guggenheim as goldbugs and

allies of the Wolcotts. Therefore, West and the *Transcript* were politically at odds with Guggenheim, just as Patterson and the *News* were. With this in mind, it is not surprising that West's political hatred for Guggenheim became inflected with racialized antisemitic statements. For example, on October 5, West launched into a lengthy diatribe about the Broad faction's nomination of Guggenheim for governor.³⁸ "Last Saturday," West wrote,

the spokesman of that mongrel convention told his audience that they were assembled as the representatives of the republican and silver republican parties; that the resolutions of democrats, populists and silver republicans held last month [the Fusion nomination of Charles A. Thomas for governor] was a mere collection of blankety-blank lies, that they—the convention—were the simon pure fellows, but all others were "not so many." As Sam Weller [a fictional character in Charles Dickens's *Pickwick Papers*] would have said, this was very purty talk; or as an old Roman remarked some 1800 years ago in reference to some remarks on matters and things in Rome, "*Credat Judeus Apella Non Ego*," The circumcised Jew may believe this, but not I.³⁹

Unpacking this statement, we see that West refers to the Guggenheim convention as "mongrel." This is important, because mongrelization, in the words of Jacobson, was a "catch-all term for 'unfitness' in American culture." Moreover, in this particular context, it is apparent that the convention was mongrelized not only because it was a breakaway faction at odds with the fusionists but also because its standard-bearer was a Jew.⁴⁰

Next we see the deliberate mistranslation of a quote from Horace's *Satires* to serve an overtly antisemitic purpose. The phrase literally means "Let the Jew Apella believe it, I do not." Alternatively, in contemporary English, "No sensible person will believe this." There is no reference to circumcision. Thus, in its classical and translated contexts it is not necessarily

meant to be antisemitic. But West plays with the translation of the phrase, injecting, among other things, questions of Jewish sexuality into it. According to Gilman, Christians believed that in addition to sexual deviance, the Jewish rite of circumcision identified Jews as mentally and physically deviant. In other words, West was characterizing Guggenheim, "the circumcised Jew," as less than a man in every critical sense: sexually, physically, and mentally.⁴¹

Unlike General West, F. J. Hulaniski, publisher and editor of Ouray's *Silverite Plain Dealer*, was more blunt in his characterization of Guggenheim. Of Polish descent, pro-fusion, and a Populist judge, his paper on at least one occasion found issue with Guggenheim's Jewishness. "Simon Guggenheim," Hulaniski declared, "is a little sawed off 'sheeney' with no other recommendation on earth other than money. He would rattle around in the governor's chair of Colorado like a bean in a bladder." Again, Guggenheim's physicality is made an issue—his smallness—along with an allegation of the corruptive nature of Jewish money power. Linked with this condemnation is the word "sheeney," a vulgar nickname for a Jew during the late nineteenth century. More importantly, however, this statement reinforces the point that anxiety over the role of money in politics and Jewishness were at times inseparable when it came to how some non-Jews viewed Guggenheim.⁴²

OF PORK AND CRUCIFIXES: CHARLES S.
THOMAS'S DECLARATION AT THE DENVER
COLISEUM

Beyond questions of the body and commercial cupidity, Guggenheim's political opponents found additional ways to exploit his Jewishness and cast him as an outsider. For example, there was irony to be found in speaking about Guggenheim in relation to pork. It was widely understood at the time that Jews had a religious injunction against consuming pork. However, it is doubtful that as a highly acculturated German Jew Guggenheim would have actually refrained from eating it

himself. Despite this, Charles S. Thomas, a wealthy lawyer, close friend, and law partner of Patterson, and the Democratic-Fusion candidate for governor, made light of Guggenheim desiring to eat "gubernatorial ham"—a meat that would "appeal" to his taste. It is not surprising that the thousands of men and women he was addressing at Denver's Coliseum found great humor in that comment.⁴³

But finding irony and humor in the incongruity of Jews and pork was relatively benign when compared to what Thomas said next at the Coliseum. He followed up by drawing a parallel between the Guggenheim candidacy, silver, Pontius Pilate, and the crucifixion of Jesus Christ—the ultimate transgression in Christian theology. "They are for silver," he roared, "as Pontius Pilate was concerned for the welfare of the Savior." In one concise statement, Thomas implicated Guggenheim in the death of Jesus Christ and the savior of Colorado, silver. There were no worse crimes. The metaphor of the crucifixion was commonly used by Populist orators to stir the emotions of audiences during this period, tapping into a shared religious heritage. Thomas's parallel, however, went beyond tapping into a shared religious heritage and was aimed directly at Guggenheim's Jewishness.⁴⁴

The beginning of the antisemitic push against Guggenheim, as we have seen, began in Durango in the summer of 1898 with seemingly innocuous complaints about "the way he spells his name." It culminated in the fall with highly racialized cartoons and allusions to Shylock and the dupable parvenu from Tom Patterson's influential *Rocky Mountain News*. Even small newspapermen such as George West and F. J. Hulaniski could not help themselves, devoting column space and ink to vulgar editorials. Moreover, withering antisemitic statements came from the lips of important politicians such as Charles Thomas. In an ironic twist, however, Guggenheim's name would also serve as a powerful metaphor in his defense. This defense would be mounted from the village of Julesburg, located in Sedgwick County, in the extreme northeast of the state.

A VERY DIFFERENT KIND OF POLITICS

Far removed from the political turmoil surrounding mining and smelting, and a Republican stronghold, Sedgwick County was mostly agrarian. Julesburg, its county seat, was a shipping junction for the Union Pacific Railroad and a center of livestock and Plains agriculture. However, the region's dependence on livestock and crops did not spare it from economic deprivation. Known as the "rainbelt region" in the 1880s, it was a virtual desert during most of the 1890s when "the elements failed these too-confident agriculturists." But it was precisely because of its solid Republicanism, agriculture, and the issue of drought that residents in this part of Colorado were immune to the divisiveness of the silver issue—an issue that became so closely tied in areas such as Denver and its surrounding mining communities to anxieties over Jewishness, money, and politics. Moreover, reformers in eastern farming communities such as Julesburg were looked upon with suspicion. "[T]he shining lights of reform," commented the *Julesburg Grit*, "are busy today, moving about in the usual mysterious manner common with people who desire to conceal their conduct." Consequently, Populism met great resistance in the "rainbelt."⁴⁵

H. C. McNew, editor of the *Grit*, was probably one of the first newspaperman in the state to publicly endorse Guggenheim for governor. Little is known about McNew, except that he was a homesteader who came to the state around 1890. He struggled financially as the editor of the *Grit* and came close to starving to death on at least one occasion.⁴⁶ In Guggenheim, McNew saw "the poor man's friend," someone who did not abuse his wealth and oppress his workers; someone who made it a "habit of calling the newspaper boys together on Christmas morning and fitting them with a new suit of clothes for the winter"; someone who "has helped develop and build up the state"; and someone who "is a loyal and enterprising citizen, with a head full of horse sense, honest and square in his dealings." Looking past McNew's exaggerations with regard to

Guggenheim's thoughtfulness toward his workers and the poor, it is important to recognize that he saw Guggenheim as an "honest" businessman and a solid "citizen"—someone fit for the office of governor. Moreover, early in the campaign, McNew argued that Guggenheim's race should not be used as political cannon fodder. "The cry of 'Jew,'" he wrote, "and three balls over the state house . . . cannot be made an issue in the campaign."⁴⁷ McNew followed up that ringing endorsement of Guggenheim with a series of editorials dedicated to countering Patterson and other antisemites in the state. "What's in a name[!]" McNew asked his readers. In his observations of the campaign during the month of September he concluded:

The only objection urged against Simon Guggenheim for governor is his name and nationality. With either he had nothing to do; but it shows how hard pressed the papers are for something to urge against the man. If his name was Patrick Garrity instead of Simon Guggenheim, or Ole Peterson, or Karl Sauerkraut, or if his parents had even thought to bring him into the world at Dublin, or Spitzenberg, or along the Rhine, the sole objection would have been averted, and the nomination received as just the thing. The papers would be printing his picture with borders around it and the stories they would tell be in double column display with bold flaming headlines and the country would be safe. But his name is Simon Guggenheim and he is a Jew. *That is the crime.*⁴⁸

With this insightful editorial, McNew recognized that the sole objection used against Guggenheim was, in fact, his Jewishness. His opponents had no real substantive arguments to use against him as a candidate for governor, for he had made silver his life's work through the operation of the Philadelphia, and like most politicians in the state, the central issue of his campaign platform. Moreover, all the other candidates for governor were wealthy like Guggenheim and none had had their race made a campaign issue in the newspapers.⁴⁹

By October 6, near the end of Guggenheim's short-lived one-month campaign, McNew and the *Grit* singled out the *News* and prominent politicians in the state for their brazen bigotry. It particularly bothered McNew that "no sooner had Simon Guggenheim been nominated for governor than Senator Teller, the *Rocky Mountain News* and other papers in this state commenced to belittle his candidacy, making light of his nationality and attacking his patriotism."⁵⁰ During September, Teller, addressing the Democratic state convention, had made "slurring remarks on the nationality, religion" and "personal characteristics" of Guggenheim.⁵¹ And with a bit of biting wit, the clever newspaperman from Julesburg chided Patterson, calling him "kin to Titus of old"—a reference to the Roman emperor who had reigned during the destruction of the Second Temple.⁵²

But the voice of reason from Julesburg in defense and support of Guggenheim was, for the most part, a lone voice amid a chorus of antisemitism. The only other group to publicly endorse Guggenheim for governor was the "Middle of the Road Populists"—a faction of the People's Party that was headed by ex-Governor Waite. Waite had refused to endorse Thomas and his ticket due to his belief that fusion was political suicide for the future of Populism in the state. In addition, Waite, and other working-class individuals in Colorado, had fondly remembered how Guggenheim did not idle the Philadelphia Smelter during the Panic of 1893, saving the jobs of many miners. The Philadelphia continued to operate at full capacity because the Guggenheims had expanded the smelter operation to include copper, gold, and other metals, rather than depending exclusively on silver like many other smelters in the West. But Waite was equally impressed by the fact that the Guggenheims were resisting amalgamation with other smelting corporations. "I believe that in the providence of God he [Guggenheim] is the one man in this state whom we can elect against the aristocracy, against the monopolies and standing upon our principals [*sic*] as populists." In essence, to a zealous defender of labor such

as Waite, Guggenheim was a rare ally in the corporate sphere—a sphere that was increasingly hostile toward labor during this period. Waite also probably refused to support Thomas because the Democratic-Fusion candidate had been a staunch supporter of goldbug Grover Cleveland—the president who was castigated by Wolcott in 1895 for impugning American manhood by bailing out its gold reserves with the help of the Rothschilds.⁵³

GUGGENHEIM WITHDRAWS

Unfortunately, support from Julesburg and Waite was not enough to convince Guggenheim that it was worth continuing with the campaign. Powerful forces had aligned against the soft-spoken smelter magnate, making his Jewishness an important issue of his candidacy, and one of the most important issues of the entire campaign season. In Denver and its mining hinterland, the "cry of 'Jew'" had been sounded and used to great effect to tar Guggenheim as racially unfit, a dupable parvenu, and an inveterate Shylock. In the wake of such overt ideological antisemitism, Guggenheim officially withdrew from the race. However, in his formal letter of resignation, he made no direct mention of antisemitism. On the other hand, he self-consciously acknowledged that his candidacy had been divisive to the Silver Republican Party and he felt that "elements" in the party could not be properly united under his banner. Were those "elements" to which he was referring of the antisemitic variety? What is clear is that Guggenheim's Jewishness, and all the cultural baggage that came attached with that, was extremely disconcerting to some non-Jews.⁵⁴ In other words, it is likely that the antisemitic political cartoons in the *News* and bigoted editorials in smaller newspapers contributed to Guggenheim's negative reading of Colorado's political landscape. Indeed, historian Roger A. Fischer has shown that acerbic political cartoons and commentaries played a role in the arrest of Tammany Hall's infamous William Tweed in 1873, the defeat of Republican presidential candidate James G. Blaine in 1884, and even in undermining

Populism itself.⁵⁵ In addition, it did not help that Guggenheim was completely silent during his own campaign, making no public statements to the press challenging his opponents' characterization of him. Unfortunately, this too contributed to a Guggenheim defeat.⁵⁶

CONCLUSION

The stampeding of Democrats, Populists, Silver Republicans, and other factions to the defense of the cause of silver in Colorado during the 1890s was a rational response. Coloradans were reacting to acute social, political, and economic dislocations that were a consequence of rapid industrialization. But antisemitism, as I have demonstrated, was an angry and consequential byproduct of that messy process. In particular, it became manifest during Simon Guggenheim's bid for the governorship in 1898. In printed word and in cartoon form, Guggenheim's racial unfitness became a focus of political and economic anxieties at play in the state. Individuals like Patterson, Wolcott, Thomas, and West, to name just a few, jealously guarded the gates of social and racial distinction in Gilded Age Colorado. In other words, antisemitism developed where and when Jews became involved in the great late-nineteenth-century scramble for status and prestige.⁵⁷ And as a prominent Colorado family, the Guggenheims were no exception to that hectic climb up the social ladder. Yet at the same time, much of the antisemitism demonstrated in this article has been ideological in nature, touching on Populist ideas about money and power that had their roots in very old cultural sources. Antisemites did not object to Guggenheim as an individual wanting to be governor, a position no Jew had held before in the state. They disliked what he symbolized in the economy and politics of the time: the international money power.⁵⁸ Entwined with that were powerful anxieties about race that suffused the era.

One final point relates to the larger significance of antisemitism uncovered in the newspapers, wherein was revealed the existence of an important strain of political antisemitism

in Colorado. Indeed, this particular event highlights the crystallization of latent antisemitism against Jews in the state by some important non-Jews. However, it must also be acknowledged that in the realm of politics, campaigners and their allies often use bombastic rhetoric to elicit support for or opposition to candidates. From Andrew Jackson to Barack Obama, this is a mainstay of American politics. The question is: to what degree can we deduce widespread prejudice from high-flown political rhetoric? Lacking public polls for this period, one's conclusions, admittedly, are necessarily limited. Nevertheless, political cartoons and editorials are the best glimpses historians have into popular attitudes during the second half of the nineteenth century. Moreover, the overt antisemitism evident in Guggenheim's run for governor in 1898 reminds us that even in the West, where Jews did enjoy a high degree of success and integration, antisemitism did matter at certain times of crisis as an important implement in the political toolbox of non-Jews, ready to be utilized when it was needed.

NOTES

1. James Fell Jr., *Ores to Metals: The Rocky Mountain Smelting Industry* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2009), 201; Stephen J. Leonard and Thomas J. Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp to Metropolis* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 1990), 103; Bureau of Labor and Statistics of the State of Colorado, *Fourth Biennial Report* (Denver: Smith Books Printing Company, 1894), 24; *Rocky Mountain News*, September 20, 1898, 1.

2. Antisemitism in this article is defined as: "1. the belief that Jews are different, alien, not simply in creed or faith, but in physiognomy and even more importantly in an inner nature of psychology; 2. the tendency to think of Jews in terms of negative imagery and beliefs which lead one to see them as power-hungry, materialistic, aggressive, dishonest, or clannish; 3. the fear and dislike of Jews based on their presumed alienness and on the understanding that these negative traits are not simply a response to past victimization or discrimination but rather a product of a malevolence toward others, especially non-Jews; 4. the willingness to shun Jews, speak ill of them, subject them to social discrimination, or deny them social and legal rights afforded to society's non-Jews on the basis of a belief that Jews must

be treated differently because they are different, alien and malevolent." Although broad, an antisemite is one who accepts all or part of this definition. David A. Gerber, ed., *Anti-Semitism in American History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 3. The economic interpretation of anti-semitism in the United States is best touched on in John Higham's "Anti-Semitism in the Gilded Age: A Reinterpretation," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 43 (March 1957): 559–78.

3. John Livingston, introduction to *Jews of the American West*, ed. Moses Rischin and John Livingston (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991), 21–22; Ellen Eisenberg, Ava F. Kahn, and William Toll, *Jews of the Pacific Coast* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), 7; Jeanne E. Abrams, *Jewish Women Pioneering the Frontier Trail: A History in the American West* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 11; Hal Rothman, "'Same Horse, New Wagon': Tradition and Assimilation among the Jews of Wichita," *Great Plains Quarterly* 15 (Spring 1995): 84. For further accounts of Jews in Denver, Colorado, and the American West see Jeanne E. Abrams, Dr. Charles Spivak: *A Jewish Immigrant and the American Tuberculosis Movement* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2009); Fred Rosenbaum, *Cosmopolitans: A Social and Cultural History of the Jews of the San Francisco Bay Area* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); Robert E. Levison, "American Jews in the West," *Western Historical Quarterly* 5 (July 1974): 285–94; Allen duPont Breck, *The Centennial History of the Jews of Colorado, 1859–1959* (Denver: Hirschfeld Press, 1960); Ida Uchill, *Pioneers, Peddlers, and Tsadikim: The Story of Jews in Colorado*, 3rd ed. (Denver: Sage Books, 1957; reprint, Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2000). Page citations are to the reprint edition.

4. Irwin Unger and Debbie Unger, *The Guggenheims: A Family History* (New York: Harper Collins, 2005); John H. Davis, *The Guggenheims: An American Epic, 1848–1988* (New York: Shapolsky Publishers, 1988); Edwin Hoyt Jr., *Guggenheims and the American Dream* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1967); Harvey O'Connor, *The Guggenheims: The Making of an American Dynasty* (New York: Covici Friede Publishers, 1937). Unfortunately, recent biographies of the Guggenheim family are derivative of the O'Connor work.

5. Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 41–43. For more on Jews, whiteness, and the social construction of race see Eric L. Goldstein, *The Price of Whiteness: Jews, Race, and American Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006); David Roediger, *Working toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became*

White. The Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs (New York: Basic Books, 2005); Stephen Steinberg, *The Ethnic Myth: Race, Ethnicity, and Class in America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001).

6. John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1955); John Higham, *Send These to Me: Jews and Other Immigrants in Urban America* (New York: Atheneum: 1975); David G. LoConto, "Discrimination Against and Adaptation of Italians in the Coal Counties of Oklahoma," *Great Plains Quarterly* 24 (Fall 2004): 249–62; Thomas G. Andrews, *Killing for Coal: America's Deadliest Labor War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008). As a point of comparison, the singular example of Gilded Age antisemitism in the East occurred when the Jewish banker Joseph Seligman and his family were denied entry into the Grand Union Hotel in Saratoga Springs, New York, in 1877, because they were Jews. It caused a national sensation at the time, and historians widely regard this event as a watershed in the history of antisemitism in America because it suggested a shift from "ideological" to "discriminatory" antisemitism. It is also worth noting that the Seligman affair happened during economic depression as well. See Higham, *Send These to Me*, 123–28, 117–52; Carey McWilliams, *A Mask for Privilege: Anti-Semitism in America* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1948), 3–7; Leonard Dinnerstein, *Antisemitism in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 39–40; Robert Michael, *A Concise History of American Antisemitism* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2005), 92.

7. O'Connor, *The Guggenheims*, 1–42.

8. O'Connor, *The Guggenheims*, 42–65.

9. O'Connor, *The Guggenheims*, 65–85.

10. O'Connor, *The Guggenheims*, 65–85; Bureau of Labor, *Fourth Biennial Report*, 49.

11. Carl Ubbelohde, Maxine Benson, and Duane A. Smith, *A Colorado History*, 9th ed. (Boulder: Pruett Publishing, 2006), 208–10.

12. Ubbelohde, Benson, and Smith, *A Colorado History*, 211–12. For examples of Wolcott's defense of bimetallism and silver see Thomas Fulton Dawson, *Life and Character of Edward Oliver Wolcott: Late Senator of the United States from the State of Colorado* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1911), 2:571–97.

13. Ubbelohde, Benson, and Smith, *A Colorado History*, 213; James Edward Wright, *The Politics of Populism: Dissent in Colorado* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 136–39. Fusion in this case means political alliance between Democrats, Populists, and other pro-silver forces. This tactic was also deployed in 1896 and 1898.

14. Ubbelohde, Benson, and Smith, *A Colorado History*, 220. The causes of the depression of the

1890s on a national scale are complex and manifold, but for the purpose of this essay, the crash of silver is central to an understanding of subsequent social repercussions in Colorado. However, some scholars have identified the following causes: "Panic, growing out of anxiety over the ability of the Treasury to maintain the established standard of gold payments and the growth of inflationist pressures, interacted in 1893 with foreign depression, weak investment opportunities reflected in a slowing rate of railroad growth and building construction, agricultural distress, and falling prices resulting in large part from the failure of monetary circulation to rise apace with aggregate demand to transform recession into a sharp, sustained contraction of business." Douglas Steeples and David O. Whitten, *Democracy in Desperation: The Depression of 1893* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998), 79.

15. Ubbelohde, Benson, and Smith, *A Colorado History*, 220–21.

16. Ubbelohde, Benson, and Smith, *A Colorado History*, 223–25.

17. Hoyt, *Guggenheims*, 171; Unger and Unger, *The Guggenheims*, 115–16.

18. Unger and Unger, *The Guggenheims*, 116.

19. *Denver Post*, September 7, 1898, 8; *Denver Times*, September 8, 1898, 1.

20. *Rocky Mountain News*, September 7, 1898, 1–3; *Denver Post*, September 7, 1898, 1, 3.

21. *Denver Post*, September 9, 1898, 9; *Colorado Transcript*, September 14, 1898, 2; Uchill, *Pioneers*, 144–47; Breck, *Centennial History*, 32; *Durango Wage Earner*, June 30, 1898, 1. Unfortunately, before 1903 there was no Jewish press in Colorado. This makes it very difficult to determine Jewish attitudes with regard to Guggenheim's campaign. In light of this and the small number of Jews in the state, this essay is primarily concerned with the non-Jewish perspective in the antisemitic dynamic of this event.

22. Edward O. Wolcott, "Bimetallism and Gold Bonds," February 16, 1895, in the *Life and Character of Edward Oliver Wolcott*, 2:660–61; Higham, "Anti-Semitism in the Gilded Age," 568.

23. Glenn C. Altschuler and Stuart M. Blumin, *Rude Republic: Americans and Their Politics in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 198. With regard to cartoons and caricatures, John J. Appel's discussion of their history is apposite. "Satire prints were in vogue before the invention of the printing press, but caricature and cartoons as we know them are products of commercial presses, drawn and reproduced to amuse or influence urban peoples sharing a common fund of knowledge. Cartoon as synonym for satiric print or caricature was not widely used until the mid-nineteenth century when *Punch*, the English humor weekly founded in 1841, poked fun

at the lofty subjects shown in the "cartoons," or preliminary designs, for frescoes planned for London's new Houses of Parliament. *Caricature*, the older word for cartoon, derived from the Italian verb for 'overloading' a portrait, that is, paying no attention to the ideal, classical proportions portrait painters tried to achieve to flatter their sitters, did not enter the dictionary as noun until the eighteenth century. Some art historians reserve the term caricature for exaggerated portrayals of persons, and apply cartoon to satirical treatments of groups, types or events. In practice, the distinction between individual and group caricature, which grew up together, soon blurs. Possibilities for misunderstanding have multiplied because today 'cartoon' also refers to a short, animated, comic motion picture or a newspaper 'strip.' John J. Appel, "Jews in American Caricature: 1820–1914," in *American Jewish History: Anti-Semitism*, ed. Jeffrey S. Gurock (New York: Routledge, 1998), 47. Like Appel, I use the term "cartoon" to apply to satirical or humorous treatments of groups or individuals.

24. Sybil Downing and Robert E. Smith, *Tom Patterson, Colorado Crusader for Change* (Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1995), 90, 135. The *Rocky Mountain News* was founded in 1859 and had a circulation as of September 4, 1898, of 31,949. Circulation data are based on data supplied by the *News* on the front page of that September issue. Of course, it might be fair to assume the figure was inflated for marketing purposes. Regardless, when the *News* spoke, people took notice in Colorado.

25. *Rocky Mountain News*, September 4, 1898, 1; Frederic Cople Jaher, *A Scapegoat in the New Wilderness: The Origins and Rise of Anti-Semitism in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), 54.

26. There is quite a bit of historical debate about the connection between Populism and anti-semitism. See the following for analysis of Populist antisemitism: Oscar Handlin, "American Views of the Jew at the Opening of the Twentieth Century," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, 40 (June 1951): 324–44; Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to FDR* (New York: Knopf, 1955); William F. Holmes, "Whitewashing: Anti-Semitism in the Populist Era," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly*, 63 (March 1974): 246–61. However, also see the following dissents that propose that antisemitism was not important to Populism: Walter T. K. Nugent, *The Tolerant Populists* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963); Norman Pollack, "Hofstadter on Populism: A Critique of the 'Age of Reform,'" *Journal of Southern History* 26 (November, 1960): 478–500; Pollack, "The Myth of Populist Anti-Semitism," *American Historical Review* 68 (October 1962): 76–80.

27. Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 56–62, 48–55, 62–67.
28. *Rocky Mountain News*, September 4, 1898, 1; Higham, “Anti-Semitism in the Gilded Age,” 567.
29. *Rocky Mountain News*, September 4, 1898, 1; Sander Gilman, *The Jew’s Body* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 171; Greeley *Sun*, as quoted in the *Julesburg Grit*, October 6, 1898, 1.
30. *Rocky Mountain News*, September 9, 1898, 5.
31. *Denver Times*, October 15, 1898, 4.
32. *Denver Times*, October 7, 1899, 4.
33. *Denver Post*, September 15, 1898, 1.
34. *Rocky Mountain News*, September 27, 1898, 1; Gilman, *The Jew’s Body*, chapter 7.
35. Richard S. Levy, ed., *Antisemitism: A Historical Encyclopedia of Prejudice* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2005), 1:205.
36. *Rocky Mountain News*, September 28, 1898, 1; Appel, “Jews in American Caricature,” 67.
37. Donald Dewey, *The Art of Ill Will: The Story of American Political Cartoons* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 30.
38. “General George West—Jeffco Pioneer,” October 3, 1957, George West Clipping File, Western History Collection, Denver Public Library.
39. *Colorado Transcript*, October 5, 1898, 4.
40. Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 78.
41. C. A. M. Fennell, *The Stanford Dictionary of Anglicized Words and Phrases* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1892), 293; Gilman, *The Jew’s Body*, 91–96, 155, 157–58, 231.
42. *Portrait and Biographical Record of the State of Colorado* (Chicago: Chapman Publishing Company, 1899), 138, 141; *Silverite Plaindealer*, September 16, 1898, 1; *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. “sheeney.” The OED states that the origin of the word “sheeney” is obscure.
43. *Rocky Mountain News*, September 21, 1898, 2; Jaher, *Scapegoat in the New Wilderness*, 70; Downing and Smith, *Tom Patterson*, 6–7, 9, 13.
44. *Rocky Mountain News*, September 21, 2; Jaher, *Scapegoat in the New Wilderness*, 96–97; Robert Rockaway and Arnon Gutfeld, “Demonic Images of the Jew in the Nineteenth-Century United States,” *American Jewish History* 89 (December 2001): 381.
45. Frank Hall, *History of the State of Colorado* (Chicago: Blakely Printing Company, 1897), 321–22; Ubbelohde, Benson, and Smith, *A Colorado History*, 217; *Julesburg Grit*, October 13, 1898, 5.
46. *Field and Farm*, November 12, 1912, 8.
47. *Julesburg Grit*, September 15, 1898, 1.
48. *Julesburg Grit*, September, 22, 1898, 1.
49. *Denver Times*, September 26, 4. Although reported on the 26th, Guggenheim’s platform letter was dated the 21st.
50. *Julesburg Grit*, October 6, 1898, 1.
51. *Julesburg Grit*, September 22, 1898, 4.
52. *Julesburg Grit*, October 6, 1898, 1.
53. *Julesburg Grit*, October 6, 1898, 8; “Colorado Smelters Caught, Decline in Silver Disastrous,” *North American Review*, February 1894, n.p.; *Daily Inter-Ocean*, Chicago, June 28, 1893, n.p.; Downing and Smith, *Tom Patterson*, 119. Of course, capital’s hostility toward labor in Colorado reached its zenith in the early twentieth century with such atrocities as the Ludlow Massacre. See Andrews, *Killing for Coal*.
54. *Aspen Daily Times*, October 8, 1898, 1.
55. Roger A. Fischer, *Them Damned Pictures: Explorations in American Political Art* (North Haven, CT: Archon, 1996), 2–19, 26, 30, 63–67; Rebecca Edwards, “Politics as Social History: Political Cartoons in the Gilded Age,” *OAH Magazine* 13, no. 4 (Summer 1999): 11–15.
56. Guggenheim returned to Colorado politics in 1907, capturing a seat in the U.S. Senate. However, unlike governorships, senatorships were not popularly elected positions at that time. Indeed, senatorships were essentially appointments made by an elite few in state legislatures, bypassing much of the public scrutiny required for popularly elected positions. More importantly, however, in terms of historical context, 1907 was radically different in terms of political and economic landscape. For example, the silver issue and Populism were dead, which meant that political instability in Colorado was at an end. The two-party system reconstituted itself. In the interim, the Colorado economy recovered from the devastating economic depression it had suffered a decade earlier. Furthermore, Guggenheim had matured as a candidate, giving speeches and actively engaging with Coloradans. But overall, many of the critical elements that activated extreme and profuse antisemitism in 1898, chiefly economic and political instability, were simply not present in 1907. On the other hand, this is not to say that antisemitism was completely devoid from Guggenheim’s 1907 run for senator. It just played no part in the commentary or political cartoons of any major newspaper in Denver and only appeared in approximately two print publications in the state. For example, *Field and Farm*, on October 20, 1906, commented on the impending victory of Guggenheim: “The proud people of Colorado are fixing themselves to saddle on a little runt of a sheeney for United States senator. The semitic nose is now the sine qua non of political power in Colorado and Denver has become the new Jerusalem.” Thus, the events of 1898 should be understood and appreciated on their own terms.
57. Higham, “Anti-Semitism in the Gilded Age,” 566–68.
58. Hofstadter, *Age of Reform*, 78–80.